

Mr. President, I believe that it is urgent that we pass legislation on this subject. I would hope that before we complete our deliberations that we would think seriously about the restraints that we are imposing—I think, unnecessarily—that we would think about the degree to which we are Federalizing what has been a traditional local responsibility, the decision of where to dispose of garbage.

We are going to continue to be engaged as we have over the past several weeks in some fundamental questions of what level of government should decide important public issues and whether those decisions should be made one time here in Washington or should be made 50, or 500, or 5,000 times at State and local levels.

Earlier today, we passed legislation that changed over two centuries of American law relative to product liability. For two centuries that responsibility was placed at the State level. States had the responsibility to understand their own history, culture, politics, economics, and they make a judgment as to how these matters of civil justice should be resolved.

Colorado is a different State than Florida. South Carolina is a different State than South Dakota. I believe in the proposition that the citizens of those individual States should make judgments as to what is appropriate for them today and in the future.

I strongly feel that that is also true of the issue of how to protect natural resources, and how the disposition of solid waste affects the protection of those resources. The situation is different from a relatively arid State in the West than it is in a subtropical environment in my State of Florida. The situation is different in the State with the peaks of Colorado, from the State that is relatively close to its water supply as we are with our high underground surface water in Florida.

I believe that prudent policy for the future should be as it has been in the past. That it is a responsibility of locally-elected officials who are accountable to the people that elect them, to make a judgment as to what is in the best interest. They would have the same range of choices that we would have, but they would be making it based on their understanding of the specific circumstances in their community.

I think that is intelligent federalism which we should apply to this issue of solid waste disposal in the future, as we have in the past. That it is not appropriate for Congress to make a decision here today that two centuries of American tradition will be overturned, and now we are going to federalize into a single decision here in Washington for all of our States and all of our local communities one answer to the question, of how they can dispose of their garbage.

Mr. President, I think the American people feel we have a lot of important things to be dealing with here in Wash-

ington. Clearly, one of those is going to be how to bring the Federal budget into balance.

I would suggest that that is a demanding enough responsibility for Senators to make. We do not have much time left over to decide how Quincy or Greeley will dispose of their garbage. We ought to let the people in Greeley, CO, and Quincy, FL, decide how to dispose of their garbage and put our attention to what the public expects Congress to do—how are we going to balance our budget.

If we allocate responsibilities in that way, I think both the citizens of Greeley, the citizens of Quincy, and the citizens of America, would feel as if we were doing the jobs that they expected the Senate to do, and how we were graded on how well we balanced the budget, would hold Senators to account and how well the county and city commissioners of Greeley and Quincy did their job would be the basis upon which they would be held accountable by their vote.

Mr. President, in conclusion, I appreciate the fact that my friend and colleague, the junior Senator from Rhode Island and the chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, accepted the amendments which I offered earlier. I hope that during this process we will give serious attention to the question of, do we really want to federalize the issue of disposal of local garbage? Or would we not be more prudent to accept the invitation of the Supreme Court to allow this to continue to be a responsibility of properly elected State and local officials?

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to speak at this morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO RUSSIA

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, earlier today Senator MCCONNELL suggested on the Senate floor that the President's trip to Moscow has been a wasted effort—that there has not been a shred of progress made there. I do not want anyone who may have been listening to that statement to be misled by it, for, in my view, it simply is not accurate. It is important to review the reasons President Clinton went to Moscow and to assess his trip to Moscow—which is not yet over—with those goals in mind.

The President went to Moscow to honor the sacrifices of the Russian people to defeat the Nazis and fascism in

World War II. Russians lost approximately 20 million people in that war—more than any other Nation. With the end of the cold war, this is the United States first opportunity to convey our appreciation. Our policy's to seek better relations not only with the Russian Government, but with the Russian people as well to help democracy take root there.

The President also went to Moscow to pursue discussion on key issues. The United States expectations were low, and our progress has exceeded those expectations. Among the accomplishments so far—and I emphasize that the trip continues tomorrow—are:

First, with respect to European Security, the Russians agreed to implement two Partnership for Peace agreements that are important to realize our goal of a comprehensive system of security in Europe.

Second, on the issue of theater missile defenses. The Russians agreed to a Statement of Principles that preserves the ABM Treaty and enables us to proceed with deployment of theater missile defense systems.

Third, the Russians agreed not to provide a gas centrifuge enrichment facility to Iran and to continue to review and discuss the proposed sale of light-water reactors. That review will be through a special group created at the March ministerial meeting of Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Kozyrev.

Fourth, President Clinton secured an agreement with respect to nuclear materials to enable both countries to cooperate to ensure the safe storage of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons materials.

Finally, agreement was reached on a statement to guide economic relations between the two countries that is important to our efforts to keep the Russian economic reforms on track.

So, in my view, a substantial degree of progress has been made with regard to Iran, with regard to the ABM Treaty, with regard to a number of issues relating to European security. And, as I indicated, the trip continues.

That list of substantive accomplishments is impressive; to expect more from one trip is, frankly, unrealistic.

Overall, the progress is indicative of the continuing interest of both countries to cooperate where we can and manage our differences constructively.

We should not judge this relationship or this meeting against an arbitrary scorecard, and we must not forget that this is not the old Soviet Union. This is a process to develop our relationship with the new Russia—again, not just its government, but also its people; to build on the potential that resides within that relationship that must be rooted in democracy and a mature and balanced dialog.

It is an important relationship, and the President is wise to invest in it. I applaud his efforts, and the fact that he has accomplished as much as he has in the last 2 days.

Perhaps President Clinton said it best today:

If you asked me to summarize in a word or two what happened today, I would say that we advanced the security interests of the people of the United States and the people of Russia.

I should also note that, regarding Chechnya, the President spoke out strongly and publicly against Russian action in Chechnya at an event at Moscow State University. He has made clear to President Yeltsin and to the Russian people the United States position. Tomorrow he will meet with opposition leaders and with the family of Fred Cuny, the American aid worker still missing in Chechnya.

So I would say the President certainly went to Russia knowing we have serious differences with Russia, but committed to the essential process of supporting democratic roots and institutions in Russia and developing our relationship with the Russian people. The list of accomplishments is impressive, and the trip continues.

I only hope that in the interest of ensuring the greatest degree of success, at least until he returns, we give him the greatest benefit of the doubt, that we offer him our support, that we send the right message to the Russian people that we stand behind this President as he negotiates, as he continues to confront the many very perplexing issues that we must address in our complicated relationship with the people of Russia and certainly Russian leadership.

So, again, I must say I think in 2 days it is remarkable the President has developed the list of accomplishments he has. I hope we could continue to add to that list in the remaining time the President spends in Russia. It was a trip well spent. It was a trip I think we can look on with some satisfaction. I hope as the President continues to travel we can demonstrate our support for him and for his efforts, and wish him well as he continues.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island is recognized.

Mr. CHAFEE. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. CHAFEE pertaining to the introduction of S. 789 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF MUNICIPAL SOLID WASTE ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question before the body is the substitute amendment reported by the Committee on Environment and Public Works to S. 534. Is there further amendment?

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 754

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate on taking all possible steps to combat domestic terrorism in the United States)

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of myself, Senator CRAIG, Senator GRASSLEY, and Senator BROWN, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER] for himself, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. GRASSLEY, and Mr. BROWN, proposes an amendment numbered 754.

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following new section:

SEC. . SENSE OF THE SENATE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Senate finds that—

(1) There has been enormous public concern, worry and fear in the U.S. over international terrorism for many years;

(2) There has been enormous public concern, worry and fear in the U.S. over the threat of domestic terrorism after the bombing of the New York World Trade Center on February 26, 1993;

(3) There is even more public concern, worry and fear since the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995;

(4) Public concern, worry and fear has been aggravated by the fact that it appears that the terrorist bombing at the Federal building in Oklahoma City was perpetrated by Americans;

(5) The United States Senate should take all action within its power to understand and respond in all possible ways to threats of domestic as well as international terrorism;

(6) Serious questions of public concern have been raised about the actions of federal law enforcement officials including agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms relating to the arrest of Mr. Randy Weaver and others in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in August, 1992 and Mr. David Koresh and others associated with the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas, between February 28, 1993, and April 19, 1993;

(7) Inquiries by the Executive Branch have left serious unanswered questions on these incidents;

(8) The United States Senate has not conducted any hearings on these incidents;

(9) There is public concern about allowing federal agencies to investigate allegations of impropriety within their own ranks without congressional oversight to assure accountability at the highest levels of government;

(10) Notwithstanding an official censure of FBI Agent Larry Potts on January 6, 1994, relating to his participation in the Idaho incident, the Attorney General of the United States on May 2, 1995, appointed Agent Potts to be Deputy Director of the FBI;

(11) It is universally acknowledged that there can be no possible justification for the Oklahoma City bombing regardless of what happened at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, or Waco, Texas;

(12) Ranking federal officials have supported hearings by the U.S. Senate to dispel public rumors that the Oklahoma City bomb-

ing was planned and carried out by federal law enforcement officials;

(13) It has been represented, or at least widely rumored, that the motivation for the Oklahoma City bombing may have been related to the Waco incident, the dates falling exactly two years apart; and

(14) A U.S. Senate hearing, or at least setting the date for such a hearing, on Waco and Ruby Ridge would help to restore public confidence that there will be full disclosure of what happened, appropriate congressional oversight and accountability at the highest levels of the federal government.

(b) SENSE OF THE SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that hearings should be held before the Senate Judiciary Committee on countering domestic terrorism in all possible ways with a hearing on or before June 30, 1995, on actions taken by federal law enforcement agencies in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, the thrust of this amendment is clear on its face; that is to proceed as promptly as possible, but in a reasonable way, to have as comprehensive hearings as possible in the U.S. Senate on ways to combat terrorism.

Pursuant to that general objective, this Senator scheduled hearings in the Subcommittee on Terrorism, a series of four hearings, with a fifth one planned. The first hearing was scheduled for April 27 on legislation which had been pending dealing with terrorism, with its focus on transnational terrorism but also with some focus on domestic terrorism as it related to FBI counterterrorism strategies. A second hearing was scheduled for May 4, with the subject being technical aspects of the legislation and also to provide an opportunity to the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress, the Irish National Caucus, and the National Association of Arab-Americans to be heard on the civil liberties issues raised by the legislation. The third hearing is scheduled for May 11, which is tomorrow, on the subject of the so-called mayhem manuals on how to make bombs being transmitted over the Internet. A fourth hearing is scheduled for May 18, dealing with Ruby Ridge, ID, and Waco, TX. There is a fifth hearing planned, which we may be able to schedule for May 25, which would deal with the growth of the militia movement around the United States.

The hearing scheduled for April 27 became a full committee hearing and proceeded on that basis. Then Senator HATCH, who is on the floor at the moment—I had notified him that I would be presenting this sense-of-the-Senate resolution at about 6:20, as we are doing at this time—wrote to me saying that he believed the May 18 hearing should not be held as scheduled but ought to be held at some time in the future with a date not specified.

It is my view, Mr. President, that it is a matter of urgent public interest that the hearing be held as promptly as reasonably possible, but in any event that a date certain should be set so